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CICERO DE SENECTUTE

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(*CATO MAJOR*)

A

DIALOGUE ON OLD AGE

Ed.

J. H. & W. F. Allen and
J. B. Greenough

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NOTE.

This volume is one of a series of School Classics, to be prepared on the same plan and under the same joint editorship with the "Select Orations of Cicero," published in June. It will be soon followed by Sallust's Catiline, now in press, and by others of the series as hereafter announced.

Boston, October 25, 1873.

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INTRODUCTION.

GREEK philosophy, at its beginning, six centuries before our era, had consisted in fanciful speculations upon the source and origin of the universe; but before Cicero's time it had come to embrace all human knowledge, and to be the substance of all liberal education. It consisted of three divisions, — Natural Philosophy, Ethics, and Dialectics (including Logic and Rhetoric), of which the second was regarded as the most important. This learning was unknown to the Romans until 155 B.C., when Carneades the Academician, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic, the most famous philosophers of their time, came on an embassy from Athens to Rome, and discoursed upon their respective doctrines. Their learning and eloquence captivated the young nobles, especially Scipio and Lælius, who are introduced in the following treatise. From that time on, all young Romans of distinction were instructed in the new education.

Cicero, born fifty years later, was carefully educated in these liberal arts, and always retained an interest in them, of which his orations contain many indications. He early formed the design of setting forth in Latin the whole body of philosophy, a design which he may be said to have in the main accomplished.

The first division, Natural Philosophy, is covered, though not very fully, by *De Natura Deorum*, *Timæus*, *and Phænomena*, and discussions of natural questions are interspersed in the ethical works. To Dialectics, the second branch, belong the first nine works in the list,* including Canonic, or the science of the test of truth. The remainder of the list, except the Letters, belong to Ethics.

* See the list in "Select Orations," p. xv.

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The circumstances which led Cicero to devote himself more especially in his later years to philosophy have been briefly touched on in the sketch of his life prefixed to the Orations. During the first year of Cæsar's supremacy (B.C. 46), we are told that he gathered a sort of school about him in his retreat at Tusculum, where "he trained Pansa, Hirtius, and Dolabella like a preceptor," seeking distraction from the defeats and calamities of his public life.* The death of his daughter Tullia, early in the following year, with other and more ignoble domestic sorrows, confirmed his disposition to solitude, and his desire to find comfort in "the calm and still air of delightful studies." † The memory of his griefs he sought to banish by spending whole days in composition. To this year belong, among other philosophical writings, the *Academics*, the *De Finibus*, and the *Tusculan Questions*. The death of Cæsar, with the new political hopes it brought, broke off these labors for a while; but before the final struggle with Antony began was another short interval of literary activity, in which were composed the treatises *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*, *De Gloria*, and *De Officiis*, as well as the two brief Dialogues *De Senectute* (*Cato Major*), and *De Amicitia* (*Lælius*).

Probably no one of his shorter writings is better known or more generally admired than the dialogue on Old Age. It

* "While I languished in idleness, and the condition of the State was such that it must needs be ruled by one man's counsel and care, I thought, first, that philosophy should be unfolded to our people for the sake of the State itself, holding it to be of great consequence to the honor and glory of the body politic (*civitas*), that things so noble and weighty should be had in Latin writings. I was urged to this, besides, by that sorrow of heart, caused by the great and heavy blows of fortune; for which if I could have found any greater comfort, I should not have taken refuge primarily in this; but in no way can I better share that comfort, than by giving myself not only to the reading of books, but to the handling of philosophy at large." N. D. i. 14.

† Mærorem minui; dolorem nec potui, nec si possem vellem.— Att. xii. 28.

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was written at the age of sixty-two years and upwards, and was addressed to his friend Atticus, who was three years older.* It belongs to the division of Ethics, which had for its subject-matter the nature of the *summum bonum*, and the conduct of life. Since the third century B.C. philosophy had lost the hope of substituting reason for violence in the management of affairs, and had aimed to find for the individual philosopher, in virtue or pleasure or elsewhere, a satisfaction to outweigh the inevitable ills of life. Every relation and incident of life was a subject of philosophical discussion, either from the pleasure it could afford, or the pain it was vulgarly supposed to cause.

In this treatise Cicero, imitating Aristo of Ceos, endeavors to show that old age, usually considered one of the ills of life, is to the wise man deprived of its terrors. In form it imitates the Socratic or Platonic dialogue, the slight part taken in it by the other speakers serving only to give an air of reality, and to mark the divisions of the subject, while the name of Cato gives dignity and weight to the argument.† The dialogue is put, apparently, in the last year of Cato's long life, and represents the old man discoursing, calmly and cheerfully, with the younger Scipio (Æmilianus), brother-in-law of Cato's elder son, and his friend Lælius, the same who gives his name to the dialogue on Friendship. Cicero himself was strongly attracted by some points of the old statesman's life and character, his plebeian birth, his political struggles, his intellectual eminence, and his genuine love of rural occupations. The incidents of his career he has studied carefully, and introduced into his discourse, with here and there a bit of his antique style, — *antiquior sermo*,

* Ad senem senex de senectute. — Læl. i. 5. Legendus mihi sæpius est *Cato Major* ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit: stomachor omnia. — Att. xiv. 21.

† Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quæ de illâ ætate loqueretur, quam ejus qui et diutissime senex fuisset, et in ipsâ senectute præter ceteros floruisset. . . . Itaque ipse mea legens sic afficior interdum, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem. — Læl. i. 4.

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*horridiora verba.** But though the discourse is put in Cato's mouth, it is Cicero that speaks. Not merely is there the ripe Latin of the last century of the Republic, and the perfection of style of the greatest of Roman authors, but the thoughts and sentiments, even, are not such as belong to the tough and hard-headed Cato, whom Cicero employs as a lay-figure, to be dressed in the mental costume of his own day.

And, withal, he fashions the antique character into something of his own more modern likeness. The Cato of the dialogue is mild-mannered, reflective, at home in philosophical literature, and even not disinclined to music, after the example of Socrates. The real Cato was harsh in temper, narrow in prejudice, a shrewd hater of the elder Scipio who was his rival, and of the whole party of refinement. He was a man "of iron strength of body and mind, of antique sternness and firmness of character, of simplicity and thrift, of patriotism that was close to narrow bigotry, of strength of will and patient temper, of unwearied force of toil and thirst for knowledge, with a copious knowledge of law and a vigorous original eloquence, of bravery and generalship, of nervous activity in his province as husbandman and householder, as statesman and writer, with a high reputation for practical sagacity, commanding the unshaken regard of the people and senate, in both public and private life, and all this to the very end of his great old age." †

So far as any connection with the substance of the book is concerned, we might dismiss Cato with these few words. It is necessary, however, briefly to describe his life and character, by way of explaining the allusions in the body of the work.

Marcus Porcius Cato — "the Elder" or the "Censor" — was born at Tusculum, of a plebeian family, B.C. 234. His

* Brutus, 17, 68.

† Lahmeyer. Cicero seems to have been aware of this inconsistency in the delineation (see § 3). Perhaps he meant to recommend philosophy by making even Cato in his last years attracted by it.

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youth was spent in "thrift, hardship, and tillage," varied, as he came of age, by pleading in the local courts. He served in South Italy against Hannibal under Fabius Maximus (B.C. 212 and 209), again under Nero (B.C. 207) probably as military tribune, in Sicily and Africa as quæstor under Scipio (B.C. 204), as consul in Spain (B.C. 195), and as *legatus* at Thermopylæ, where he contributed largely to the victory over Antiochus. Though by birth a simple yeoman, as Marius was a hundred years later, he was never like him a popular partisan, but became himself a leading member of the aristocracy. Gifted with a shrewd common sense, and an effective popular eloquence, the energetic, upright young rustic became known to the patrician Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who was his fast friend in Rome, and afterwards his colleague as consul, legatus, and censor. With all his intellectual vigor he had the prejudices of the narrow and bigoted conservatism that marked the temper of the elder Republic; and it was one of his acts to expel the Athenian envoys mentioned above from Rome, for fear of corrupting the Roman youth. His son Marcus, who died B.C. 152, — a man of marked genius and merit, — married the daughter of Æmilius Paulus, and so was brother-in-law of the younger Scipio. Another son, born when Cato was eighty years old, was the grandfather of Cato *Uticensis*, the most able and honest of Cæsar's enemies. After a long controversy with Scipio Nasica, Cato succeeded (B.C. 150) in forcing on the third and last war with Carthage. He died the following year, at the age of eighty-five.

Cato is best known by the severity with which he exercised the censorship. This gave him the name by which he is best known, *Censorius*, or the censor. This office was then at the height of its efficiency, and was an engine of almost despotic power. The men holding it had the unrestricted right to make out the list of Senators, that is, to determine who should govern Rome for the next five years; and, on the other hand, to punish, by expulsion from the Senate, by a private stigma of infamy, or even by the entire

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deprivation of political rights, any person whom they chose. (See § 42.) A cause must be assigned; but even if this were omitted, there seems to have been no appeal from their judgment. Flaccus, the colleague of Cato, stood steadily by him in his action as censor, and, with his narrowness, obstinacy, prejudice, but entire honesty, he exercised the power of his office with relentless vigor. If it was especially his own private enemies that he punished, no doubt he sincerely believed them to be dangerous to the State, or they would not be enemies of his.

These characteristics clung to him through life. Whatever was new he opposed; and in this way he has the credit of having resisted many baneful innovations, as also many salutary ones. He had no capacity to distinguish between the steady movement of national life and those insidious influences from outside, which eat out the national vigor. By his stubborn conservatism he gained the repute of being a typical Roman of the old school; while, in fact, the glory and strength of Rome lay in her ability to draw into herself, and not exclude or destroy, the life of the races she subdued.

The writings of Cato were: 1. *De Re Rustica*, the first Latin treatise on agriculture, full of practical observations and directions, in great part still extant; 2. *Origines*, the first historical work in Latin, curtly and briefly told, from the earliest legendary stories down to his own day, of which only fragments remain; 3. various writings on politics, antiquities, and war, with numerous orations, of which Cicero had read "more than a hundred and fifty." *

* Brut. 17.

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ON OLD AGE.

CATO MAJOR, *sive* DE SENECTUTE.

O TITE, si quid te adjuero curamve levasso
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei.

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctisque diesque;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus meipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et major est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2. Hoc enim onere quod mihi commune tecum est, aut jam urguentis aut certe adventantis senectutis, et te et me ipsum levari volo: etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita jucunda hujus libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam et jucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa, et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de

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senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus, — parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, — sed M. Catoni seni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Jam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4. SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere. CATO. Rem haud sane Scipio et Laeli, difficilem, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsis petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adepti: tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent. Primum, quis coëgit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde, qui minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam optumam ducem tamquam deum sequimur, eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae

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partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum, et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare? 6. LAELIUS. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus. CATO. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est. LAELIUS. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc quo pervenisti videre quale sit.

III. 7. CATO. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querellis aequalium meorum — pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur — quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus majoribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est. 8. LAELIUS. Est ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias

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et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere. CATO. Est istuc quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in jurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: 'Nec (hercule),' inquit 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis sis, clarus umquam fuisses.' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, — quamquam id quidem maximum est, — verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio jucundissima est.

IV. 10. Ego Quintum Maximum [eum qui Tarentum recepit] senem adulescens ita dilexi ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen jam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem juveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

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Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, 'Mea opera, Quinte Fabi, Tarentum recepisti.' 'Certe,' inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga, qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis quoad potuit restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur contra auspicia ferri. 12. Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille mortem fili tulit clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo! quae praecepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia juris augurii! Multae etiam ut in homine Romano litterae. Omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cujus sermone ita tum cupide fruebar quasi jam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

v. 13. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem; nec tamen omnes possunt esse Sciones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum qui *Pana-*

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thenaicus inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cujus magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'Nihil habeo' inquit 'quod accusem senectutem.' 14. Praeclarum responsum, et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cujus modo mentionem feci Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post ejus mortem hi consules T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius facti sunt; ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est: cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, — tot enim vixit Ennius, — ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur. 15. Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit justa una quaeque videamus.

VI. 'A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit.' Quibus? An iis quae juventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? Nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, fili mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defen-

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debant, nihil agebant? **16.** Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime: notum enim vobis carmen est; etiam ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse: et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. **17.** Nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerunda versari senectutem negant; [similesque sunt] ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea quae juvenes: at vero majora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. **18.** Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor cum bella non gero. At senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo, et quo modo: Karthagini male jam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio, de qua vereri non ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero. **19.** Quam palmam utinam Di inmortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cujus a morte sextus hic et tricesimus annus est: sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me

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consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium majores nostri appellassent senatum. **20.** Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

> Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur, ut est in Naevi poëtae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

> Provéniebant orátores noví, stulti adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. **21.** 'At memoria minuitur.' Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos. Nec sepulcra legens vereor (quod aiunt) ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt: vadimonia constituta; qui sibi, cui ipsi debeant. **22.** Quid juris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria; neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit: quod propter

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studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in judicium vocatus est ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent judices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, *Oedipum Coloneum*, recitasse judicibus, quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur: quo recitato sententiis judicum est liberatus. **23.** Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutiscere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit?

24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro majora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere: sed idem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

Serit arbores quae alteri saeclo prosint,

ut ait Statius noster in *Synephebis*. **25.** Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat, respondere: Dis immortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a majoribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

Edepól senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti
Adpórtes tecum, cum ádvenis, unum íd sat est,
Quod diú vivendo múlta quae non vólt videt.

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Et multa fortasse quae volt! atque in ea quae non votl saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

> Tum equidem in senecta hoc députo misérrimum,
> Sentíre ea aetate ípsum esse odiosum álteri.

26. Jucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a juventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse jucundos. Sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cujusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri: et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide adripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, — discebant enim fidibus antiqui, — sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. 27. Nec nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, — is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, — non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti; et quicquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui, cum jam senex esset, athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur, inlacrimansque dixisse: 'At hi quidem mortui jam sunt.' Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus jura civibus praescribeban-

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tur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

28. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute, est enim munus ejus non ingeni solum sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam (nescio quo pacto) in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis conposita et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est jucundius senectute stipata studiis juventutis? 29. An ne eas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentis doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones, et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium juvenum fortunati videbantur; nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum Pontifex Maximus factus esset, viginti duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere; quamquam est id quidem senile, aetatique nostrae conceditur.

x. 31. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Tertiam enim jam aetatem hominum vivebat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens

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aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, 'ex ejus lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio,' quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus: et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Ajacis similis habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troja peritura. **32.** Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum: vellem equidem idem possem gloriari quod Cyrus: sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule; sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus; non curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus.

33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis: num idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingèni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; cum absit, ne requiras: nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis, et una via naturae eaque simplex; suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas juvenum, et gravitas jam constantis aetatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quid-

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dam habeat quod suo tempore percipi debeat. **34.** Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere; cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere; nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit; summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem; itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo, et legibus et institutis, vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. **35.** 'At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint.' At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, ejusque vitia diligentia conpensanda sunt: pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem.

36. Habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defetigatione ingravescunt: animi autem exercitando levantur. Nam quos ait

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Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hoc significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum; sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex. Intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos: metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant: vigebat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina.

38. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si jus suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo: quod qui sequitur corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit.

Septimus mihi liber *Originum* est in manibus: omnia antiquitatis monumenta conligo: causarum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; jus augurium, pontificium, civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis: in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis: venio in senatum frequens, ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem quae jam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat

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senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit; nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. **39.** Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: 'Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cujus [voluptatis] avidae libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur; **40.** hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina conloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis inpelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis. Cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. **41.** Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo jubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis quanta percipi posset maxima: nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem; si quidem ea, cum major esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret.' Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre ejus a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a majoribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni

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interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

42. Quorsum haec? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Inpedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est; mentis (ut ita dicam) praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset; sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato conjungeret imperi dedecus.

XIII. 43. Saepe audivi ex majoribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda: quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex ejus quem dico Deci facto judicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optumus quisque sequeretur.

44. Quorsum igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia

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non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis. Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam ejus blanditiis non facile obsistimus, — divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, —quamquam inmoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium, Marci filium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur crebro funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat: tantum licentiae dabat gloria. **45.** Sed quid ego alios? Ad meipsum jam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt, sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim majores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae conjunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt; melius quam Graeci qui hoc idem tum conpotationem tum concenationem vocant; ut quod in eo genere minimum est id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. **46.** Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum; habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cujus est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego me in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere

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sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a majoribus instituta; et is sermo qui more majorum a summo adhibetur in poculo; et pocula, sicut in *Symposio* Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, convivi-umque vicinorum cotidie conpleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus.

47. 'At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus.' Credo: sed ne desideratur quidem. Nihil autem est molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam jam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora!' inquit: 'ego vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis jucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat: ergo non desiderare dico esse jucundius. 48. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvolis fruitur rebus, ut diximus; deinde iis quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima; sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans, tantum quantum sat est.

49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse secumque (ut dicitur) vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute jucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Galum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coe-

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pisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! **50.** Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat *Bello* suo *Punico* Naevius! quam *Truculento* Plautus! quam *Pseudulo!* Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontifici et civilis juris studio loquar? aut de hujus P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnis quos commemoravi his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte *Suadae medullam* dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae: quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse major.

xv. **51.** Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute, et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec cuiquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque majore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat; quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet (ex quo *occatio* quae hoc efficit nominata est); deinde tepefactum vapore et conpressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem; quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit, culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus

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cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. **52.** Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est, et nisi fulta est fertur ad terram, eadem ut se erigat claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta conplectitur; quam, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur. **53.** Itaque ineunte vere in iis quae relicta sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit; quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret, et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cujus quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat: adminiculorum ordines, capitum jugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea quam dixi aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego inrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? **54.** Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet: at Homerus, qui multis (ut mihi videtur) ante saeculis fuit, Laertam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem

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agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis; tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

XVI. 55. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum; sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis: cujus quidem ego villam contemplans — abest enim non longe a me — admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. 56. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non jucundam senectutem? Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes; siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum, cujus dictatoris jussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse: neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent; ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam jam cum

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voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni adsiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est: abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Jam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius, ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58. Sibi igitur habeant arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus: nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. 59. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse: cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et derectos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam ejus a quo

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essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram ejus et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse, 'Recte vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna conjuncta est.'

60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus; nec aetas inpedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta jam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cujus inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis majores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque hujus extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. **61.** Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in *A.* Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: 'Unum hunc plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum.' Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Jure igitur gravis, cujus de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut jam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. **62.** Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno

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quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, 'Miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet.' Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem adripere possunt; sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. **63.** Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia, — salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cujus modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis: nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur, et senem sessum recepisse. **64.** Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam, Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in nostro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam qui cum imperio sunt, majores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse, nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu conruisse.

65. 'At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes.' Si quaerimus, etiam avari: sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem justae, sed quae probari posse videatur: con-

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temni se putant, despici, inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in *Adelphis* sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis aetas matura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam (sicut alia) modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intellego. Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius, quam quo viae minus restet eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. **66.** Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. **67.** Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet: facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes; gravius aegrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem. Quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur: mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune?

68. Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. 'At sperat adulescens

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diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest.' Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? 'At senex ne quod speret quidem habet.' At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est. Ille volt diu vivere; hic diu vixit. **69.** Quamquam, O Di boni! quid est in hominis vita diu? Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem. Fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat. Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum: cum enim id advenit, tum illud quod praeteriit effluxit; tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. **70.** Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est; modo in quocumque fuerit actu probetur; neque sapienti usque ad *Plaudite* veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat, ostenditque fructus futuros: reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. **71.** Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur: senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte, nulla

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adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas. Quae quidem mihi tam jucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

xx. 72. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possis [mortemque contemnere]. Ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur 'Senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Jam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. 73. Solonis quidem sapientis est elegium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
> Faxit. *Cur? volito vivos per ora virum.*

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam inmortalitas consequatur. 74. Jam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni: post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo

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esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis inpendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? 75. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus; non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt; non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret; non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt; non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte eluit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem; non M. Marcellum, cujus interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, — sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in *Originibus*, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde seredituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes — et ii quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici — contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, rerum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa: num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae: num ea constans jam requirit aetas quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam ejus aetatis: ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis. Ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis. Quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis adfert.

XXI. 77. Non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tu Scipio, tuque Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissisimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his conpagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim

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animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus, et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos inmortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio inpulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. 78. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de inmortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus Apollinis oraculo judicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, [tantae scientiae,] tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem: cumque semper agitetur animus, nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi, quod si non possit, non posse interire: magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod jam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis adripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

xxii. 79. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus major haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, O mei carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus

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quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. 80. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem persuaderi numquam potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori; nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat, abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt; animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discedit adparet. 81. Jam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim cum remissi et liberi sunt futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote' inquit 'ut deum. Sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

XXIII. 82. Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum, aut multos praestantis viros quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes — ut de me ipso aliquid more senum glorier — me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem

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et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi cum excessisset e vita tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi inmortales essent, haud optimi cujusque animus maxime ad inmortalitatis gloriam niteretur. **83.** Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci; ille autem cui obtusior sit acies non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi; neque vero eos solum convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem; nec vero velim, quasi decurso spatio, ad carceres a calce revocari. **84.** Quid enim habet vita commodi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ii docti saepe fecerunt: neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existumem; et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. **85.** O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar, cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cujus a me corpus est crematum, — quod contra decuit ab illo meum, — animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego

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meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existumans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

86. His mihi rebus, Scipio, — id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti, — levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta sed etiam jucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum inmortalis esse credam, libenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo extorqueri volo. Sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui inrideant. Quod si non sumus inmortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum rerum omnium, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cujus defetigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adjuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniatis, ut ea quae ex me audistis, re experti, probare possitis.

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NOTES.

Argument.

CHAP. I. Cicero sets forth to his friend Atticus his motive in composing the work. — 2. Scipio and Lælius ask of Cato his experience of old age. — 3. Cato recounts the charges commonly made against old age, and qualifies them. — 4, 5. He speaks of the old age of Fabius Maximus, employed in politics and war, and of other examples, both Greek and Roman, philosophers and poets. There are four complaints against old age: exclusion from active life, the enfeebling of the bodily powers, deprivation of sensual pleasure, and the near approach of death. — 6. Does old age unfit for active life? Age has its own activities: Claudius, Cato, etc. — 7, 8. The alleged defect of memory: examples of aged poets, philosophers, orators, etc., and of others, who continue to learn in advanced life. — 9, 10. Lack of bodily vigor: only the athletes mourn this, and even this is not universal among the old. Exercise and temperance resist old age: examples of Nestor and Cato himself. Cyrus and Masinissa. — 11. Nor is strength needed, and if many old men are inferior, so are many young men. We must withstand old age, both bodily and mentally, as did Appius Claudius; for only a self-respecting independent old age is honored. — 12. Age, it is true, is incapable of bodily pleasure: but in this it has the advantage over youthful passion. — 13. The false teaching of the Epicureans respecting pleasure. — 14. Old age has still the true joys of companionship, science, and authorship. — 15. So also the occupations and delights of husbandry: testimony of Hesiod and Homer. — 16. Curius and Cincinnatus: agriculture is peculiarly fit for the old. — 17. Xenophon, Cyrus, Valerius, and others. — 18. But only a well-spent youth can prepare for an honorable age: the unhappiness of age is the fault of temper in the old. — 19. The approach of death: comparison of exposure to death in age and youth. — 20. Death is no evil; but either a cessation of being, or a blessed change. — 21. The good man hopes for immortality. — 22. The dying Cyrus. — 23. The hope which sustains honorable labors; anticipation of a noble life.

§ 1. **Tite.** In addressing his friend *Titus* Pomponius Atticus, Cicero elegantly applies some hexameters from Ennius's *Annales*, addressed to *Titus* Quinctius Flamininus the conqueror of Macedon (B.C. 198). The incident here referred to was when, after being for 40 days baffled in an attempt to cross the mountain passes of Epirus, he was at last approached by a faithful herdsman, who offered to guide him across. The victory of Cynoscephalæ which followed, B.C. 197, gave Flamininus unlimited control over Greece, which he used with great moderation. At the Isthmian games near Corinth, he formally restored their independence to the Greeks, after which both Greece and Macedonia remained independent for about fifty years. — **adjuero**, § 30, 6, *a*. — **curam**, *anxiety*, an account of the success of the enemy in baffling him. — **levassō** = **levavero** (§ 30, 6, *e*). — **coquit, versăt**, *burns and goads:* for the quantity see § 83, *g*[5]. — **ille vir**, the herdsman. — **plenŭs**, § 83, *a*. — **fidēi** retains the original long ē of the fifth declension. — **quamquam** (corrective), *and yet.* — **moderationem et æquitatem** (both with

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animi), *self control and even temper.* — **cognomen,** the surname *Atticus,* due to the Greek culture and sympathies of Pomponius, and his long residence at Athens. — **deportasse,** *brought off,* a kind of technical military term. — **eisdem rebus,** i. e. the civil war and the despotism of Cæsar. — **me ipsum,** § **67,** 1, *b,* R. — **quarum,** obj. gen. — **major,** *a more serious matter.*

§ 2. **hoc** (§ **54,** 1, *c*), not merely antecedent of **quod,** but demonstrative: *this burden* (i. e. old age). — **certe,** *at any rate* (§ **41,** 3, *c*). — **senectute:** the Romans distinguished the ages of *pueritia, adolescentia, juventus, ætas seniorum,* and *senectus,* in periods of about fifteen years, but not very exactly. — **te quidem:** here **quidem** merely emphasizes **te.** — **mihi:** not really emphatic, but opposed to **te** and **tu,** according to the Roman fashion (see Or. for Roscius, § 1). — **eo munere,** *a tribute.* — **uteretur,** *enjoy.* — **confectio,** *composition.* — **absterserit,** *brushed away.* — **molestias,** *vexations.* — **mollem,** *undisturbed* ("smooth"). — **cui . . . possit,** a subjunct. of charact. (§ **65,** 2. Probably originally an *apodosis,* which it much resembles here: compare "Latin Subjunctive," p. 19). — **omne tempus ætatis,** *every period of life,* i. e. even old age, the most unpromising.

§ 3. **ceteris,** the other topics of philosophy.

2. **misimus,** *I send* (§ **58,** 8). — **autem,** *however.* The thought is, "I do not write it, however, as a treatise in my own person, but have put it in the mouth of a fit speaker; not Tithonus, but, etc." — **Tithono,** the husband of Eos (*Aurora*). The gods gave the gift of immortality to him at her request, but she forgot to ask for perpetual youth, so he became a stock example of age. Life soon became a burden to him; as a second boon, he was changed into a *cicada* (katydid). — **Aristo,** a Peripatetic philosopher of the Island of Ceos, who lived in the third cent. B.C. — **esset** (§ **60,** 2), i. e. if I had. — **auctoritatis,** *dignity.* — **in fabula,** *in a mythical tale.* — **Lælium et Scipionem,** these two names are types of friendship, like Damon and Pythias, or David and Jonathan. Cicero's treatise *De Amicitia,* the companion to that *De Senectute,* has its name from Lælius.

P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus (cos. B.C. 147; known also as *Africanus Minor,* to distinguish him from his grandfather by adoption, the conqueror of Hannibal) was son of L. Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, but passed by adoption into the family of Scipio. As a statesman and general he was first of his age; of unblemished private character, and of a calm good sense which was the quality most needed in his time. Mommsen says of him: "The history of Rome presents various men of greater genius than Scipio Æmilianus, but none equalling him in moral purity, in the utter absence of political selfishness, in generous love of his country, and none, perhaps, to whom destiny has assigned a more tragic part." He was assassinated, B C 129, probably by the infamous Carbo. C. Lælius is known to us principally by his association with Scipio: he was in his time a man of high culture and considerable influence, especially noted as a public speaker.

ipse, as opposed to the part he plays in this book. — **attribuito,** *you must ascribe it* (fut. imperat. on account of the future protasis **videbitur**). — **plura,** sc. **dicere** (§ **29,** 2, *c*). — **jam,** *presently.*

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§ 4. **sæpe numero,** *oftentimes.* — **excellentem,** as compared with others; **perfectam,** with absolute wisdom. — **quod . . . senserim,** informal indir. discourse following **admirari,** § **66,** 1, *d.* — **Ætna,** a proverbial expression from Euripides, referring to the myth of Enceladus buried beneath Mount Etna. — **haud sane,** *not very,* — a kind of *litotes,* always with a jocose turn, as our "not much of a," etc. — **omnia bona . . . petunt:** this Stoic sentiment is put naturally in the mouth of Cato, to whose character that doctrine had a special fitness. — **eandem accusant adepti,** *and yet they find fault with it when reached.* — **putavissent,** subj. of indir. disc. (for indic. of direct, which the Latin prefers in these expressions where we say "would have thought"). — **quamvis longa,** *however long.* — **cum effluxisset,** i. e. in the case supposed.

§ 5. **quæ utinam esset,** *and I wish it were.* — **cognomine,** i. e. **Cato** = **catus,** *shrewd,* or from the title **sapiens,** bestowed on him. — **in hoc sapientes,** *a philosopher;* alluding to the Stoic doctrine, *secundum naturam vivere.*

3. **extremum actum,** i. e. life is a drama, and its author will not leave its last act void of interest. — **inerti,** *without skill* (**ars**). — **tamen,** *yet:* however excellent the composition, it must have a beginning, middle, and end. — **bacis (baccis),** meaning the smaller fruits, as olives, etc. — **maturitate tempestiva,** *in the fulness of time.* — **ferundum,** old form. — **molliter,** *patiently* (lit. *smoothly,* or without resistance, also used in a bad sense). — **Gigantum,** a brood of monsters, who revolted against Zeus, and were punished by being thrust under the earth; Enceladus, for instance, under Etna. They were often confounded with the Titans, an earlier race of demigods, children of Uranus and Rhea, who revolted against Kronos.

§ 6. **atqui** (regularly of the minor premiss), *and now* (that being so). — **ut pollicear,** § **64,** 1, *b.* — **feceris,** § **58,** 7, R. — **fieri,** belonging to the last verb, **volumus: speramus** would take a fut. infin). — **quidem** simply emphasizes **volumus.** — **certe,** *at all events.* — **vero,** *of course.* — **volumus sane** (stronger than Cato's *gratum esse*), *why certainly, we are anxious.* — **confeceris,** § **61,** 1, R. — **ingrediundum** (§ **72,** 5, *b,* R.), nom. of the gerund form, governing the acc. **quam.** (In Greek this usage is regularly retained with the verbal τεον, and in Sanskrit is universal. An archaism in Latin: perhaps used here intentionally as such). — **istuc,** neut. acc. (§ **20,** 1, N). — **quale,** i. e. what is the nature of.

§ 7. **æqualium** (i. e. in age), *mate,* explaining **pares,** below. — **quæ,** cognate acc., referring by *synesis* to **querellis.** — **Salinator:** C. Livius Salinator, cos. B. C. 188; Sp. Postumius Albinus, cos. 186: men of no special note. — **tum, tum,** *now, now.* — **quod carerent** (§ **66,** 1, *d*), see § 39. — **accusare,** *find fault with.* —

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usu (probably dat. for **usui**) **venirent**, *would be experienced by*.— **multorum**, agreeing with **quorum** (§ **50**, 2, *e*, R³).—**sine querella** § **50**, 3, *d*, R.—**qui ferrent**, § 65, 2.—**moribus**, *character* (as determined by habit).—**ætate**, time of life.—**moderati**, *well regulated*. —**difficiles**, *hard to please* (of the temper); **inhumani**, churlish (of breeding merely).—**autem**, *on the other hand*.

4. § 8. **dignitatem**, *respectability*.—**est . . . aliquid**, *there is something in that, to be sure*.—**nequaquam**, *not by any means*.— **Themistocles**, whose policy created the naval power of Athens. The anecdote, referring to the honors he received at Sparta, is told by Herodotus (viii. 125) of a citizen of Belbina, an islet near Sunium. Seriphus is one of the smallest of the Cyclades.—**summa inopia**, *the depth of poverty*.—**levis**, *a trifling matter*.—**non gravis**, *otherwise than burdensome*. (Both wisdom and estate are needed for the comfort of age, just as talent and opportunity were both needed for the glory of Themistocles.)

§ 9. **omnino**, *in general*.—**arma**, *defences*.—**artes** = *study*.— **cum . . . vixeris**, gen. cond. (§ **59**, 5, *a*).—**diu multum**, i. e. a long and varied life.—**ne . . . quidem**, *even*.—**bene factorum**, see § **72**, 2, *a*.

§ 10. **Q. Maximum**: Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the chief citizen of Rome in the early years of the Second Punic War, held command against Hannibal, and from his cautious policy received the name *Cunctator:* the present chapter is chiefly devoted to him. In his fifth consulship (B.C. 209) he recovered Tarentum, the third city in Italy; the Roman commander, M. Livius Macatus had lost the city, but continued to hold the citadel, from which he gave Fabius vigorous aid.—**condita**, *seasoned* (relieved).—**consul primum**, B.C. 233: this fixes the date of Cato's birth at 234. —**adulescentulus**: Cato was at this time (B.C. 214) twenty years old.

Seventeen was the age at which the young man was liable to military service, and this date (B.C. 217) is given by Plutarch and Nepos for Cato's first campaign. Nepos adds that in 214 he was military tribune, which is inconsistent with the rule that this office required five years of service, as well as with the word *miles* in the text. His quæstorship (in B.C. 204) agrees with the rule that ten years of service (or at least of presenting one's self for conscription) was necessary before holding any civil office.

quinto anno post, i. e. counting in the fifth year, B.C. 209; **quadriennio post**, i. e. after the expiration of the full four years' interval, B.C. 204.—**quem magistratum**, *which office*. (of prætor).—**cum quidem**, *at which very time*. (The whole of this prelude, suited to the garrulousness of age, indicates also the respective dates of these lives.)—**legis Cinciæ**, B.C. 204, ordaining *ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve acciperet*. This was one of a series of laws designed to shut out the governing aristocracy from active business. (The idea seems to have been similar to that which re-

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quires members of the British Parliament to serve without compensation: government was the business of a rich hereditary aristocracy.) — **plane grandis**, *quite advanced in years.* — **patientia**, *stubborn endurance.* — **familiaris**, rather an unwarranted term under the circumstances. Towards the end of his life Cato modified his stern conservatism so far as to make a study of Greek (see § 3); but at the time alluded to he was the last man in Rome to make an "intimate" of a mere man of letters, of Greek birth too, like Ennius. Indeed, he reproached M. Fulvius Nobilior, the leader in the Hellenizing movement of the day, for having taken Ennius with him on his campaign in Ætolia. — **cunctando**, hence the name *Cunctator.* — **nœnum**, earlier form of **non = ne unum (œnum)**, as the English *none.* — **ponebāt**, § **83**, 1, g^{5}. — **post**, i. e. not only then, but as it is now. — **magis**, *more* (than it otherwise would).

5. § 11. **cum quidem**, *when, you know.* — **Salinatori**: a mistake of Cicero's. M. Livius Salinator was a distinguished and successful general in the campaign against Hasdrubal, B.C. 207; it was M. Livius Macatus that lost Tarentum, and gave efficient service from the citadel in its recovery. — **certe**, *no doubt.* — **vero**, *in truth.* — **in toga**, i. e. in civil affairs: "pacis est insigne et oti toga; contra autem arma tumultus atque belli" (In Pis. 30). — **consul iterum** (B.C. 228), *being consul for a second term.* — **C. Flaminio**, the chief popular leader of his day, often held up to reproach by writers, like Cicero, of aristocratic sympathies. The reproach was enhanced by his disgraceful blunder in the battle of L. Trasimenus, B.C. 217, in which his army was cut to pieces, and he himself killed.

In spite of his ill repute as a demagogue, and his military failure, Flaminius was the author of some very salutary measures. In his tribunate, B.C. 232, he carried the law here referred to, dividing the Gallic and Picene territory among poor citizens, — the policy afterwards revived by the Gracchi, and perhaps the most hopeful remedy of the evils of the State. This measure he carried by a popular vote against the opposition of the Senate, an act which was strictly unconstitutional, inasmuch as this was an administrative measure, which fell within the province of the Senate. In his censorship, B.C. 220, he laid out the Flaminian Way, to the Picene and Gallic region, and built the Flaminian Circus. Shortly after, in the Senate, he was a chief supporter of the Claudian Law, by which Senators were prohibited from engaging in trade. As this was a measure of directly the same tendency as the Cincian Law (see § 10), to maintain the authority of a non-commercial aristocracy, it certainly seems free from demagogism. Inasmuch, however, as it thwarted the pecuniary interests of the Senators, it made them bitterly hostile to him.

dicere ausus est. The expression here quoted was safe enough in the mouth of a leader of the aristocracy — as Fabius was — at once Senator, executive officer, and interpreter of the omens. But it of course struck at the root of the whole Roman polity and religion, betraying a decline of faith, which was the first symptom of national decay. — **optimis auspiciis**, etc., compare Iliad, xii. 243.

§ 12. **quo modo tulit**: the indic. (instead of the subj. of indir. question) is perhaps chosen as belonging to the old style (§ **67**, 2, *d*); otherwise the antecedent **modus** must be understood, which

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seems harsh. — **filii consularis**: this son, who had the same name as his father, was consul B.C. 213. It is of him that the story is told, strongly characteristic of Roman customs, that his father, being sent as *legatus* to his camp, and meeting him as he proceeded with his train of lictors, neglected to alight from his horse, as respect for the consul required. Upon this a lictor, at the son's order, commanded him to dismount; when he sprang at once to his feet, with the words, "I wished to see my son, how well you knew that you were consul" (Liv. xxiv. 44). — **est . . . laudatio**, *his eulogy is extant.* — **quem philosophum**, etc., i. e. a nobler temper than any philosopher. — **juris augurii**: i. e. the ecclesiastical or canon law of the Romans.

It was characteristic of both Greeks and Romans, and one of the chief sources of their enduring freedom, that they had no priestly class, but that the religion of the State and the political administration of the State were in the same hands. A few priestly offices of low grade were held as professions by men of low rank; a few priesthoods of great dignity but of no political influence, such as that of *rex sacrificulus*, *flamen*, the *Salii*, etc., were held for life by men of rank, selected solely for their patrician birth: but the great colleges of *pontifices*, augurs, etc., which had control of the religious institutions in their relation to the government, were invariably made up of leading statesmen. For example, Cicero was *augur*, Cæsar was *pontifex*. From this it resulted that the interests of a priesthood were never, as in Egypt and other eastern countries, suffered to interfere with the interests of the State. The *jus augurium* was the code of rules by which the college of augurs interpreted the auspices, or expressed will of the gods.

multæ, etc., a good knowledge of literature for a Roman; they were, of course, behind the Greeks.

§ 13. **quorsus**, sc. **spectant**, *to what end?* — **profecto**, *doubtless.* — **nefas**, *an outrage.* — **nec tamen omnes**, *though indeed not all.* — **pedestris**: the term *infantry* is often applied, in Greek and Latin, to the whole land force as distinct from the marine. — **est . . . senectus**, *there is an old age*, etc. (§ **76**, 1, *b*). — **placida ac levis**, *calm and serene*, as becomes a philosopher. — **Isocratis**, the "old man eloquent" who died at the report of "that dishonest victory at Chæronea, fatal to liberty," at the age of ninety-nine.

6. Gorgias, the celebrated sophist, or professional teacher of rhetoric and philosophy, whom Plato introduces in controversy with Socrates on the grounds of moral truth. His last words are said to have been, "Now Sleep bears me to his brother" (Death). — **cessavit**, *relaxed.* — **cum . . . quæreretur**, the regular construction with **quæro** (§ **52**, 2, *c*, R.). — **quod**, adv. acc., § **52**, 3, *a*.

§ 14. **sua vitia conferunt**, *charge their own failings upon.* — **spatio supremo**, *at the end of the course* (the regular term). — **Olympia**, cognate acc. (§ **52**, 1, *b*), imitated from the Greek perhaps. — **confectus**, § **83**, *a*. — **quem . . . potestis**, *whom, by the way, you may well remember.* — **anno**, etc., i. e. it is now nineteen years since he died. — **hi consules**: T. Quinctius Flamininus and M.'Acilius Balbus, coss. B.C. 150, the assumed date of this dialogue. — **Cæpione**: Q. Marcius Philippus (*iterum*) and Cn. Servilius Cæ-

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pio, coss. B.C. 169. — **legem Voconiam**: this was one of the principal sumptuary laws of the Romans, or laws designed to control the private life and luxury of individuals.

"The Voconian law, passed during the later republic, 169 B.C., imposed a restriction on the institution of women as heirs. It applied only to large estates. A person whom the census placed in the first class, as having a rated property of at least one hundred thousand *asses* (i. e. one thousand dollars, which in purchasing power was worth as much as ten thousand now), such a person was forbidden to appoint a woman as heir . . . The alleged design of the statute is said to have been to restrain the growing luxury and extravagance of women, by withholding from them the means of being luxurious and extravagant on a large scale. It can hardly be supposed, however, that this was the principal reason for the measure. A stronger reason must have been the desire of the wealthy class to keep large estates in the families, the agnate families, to which they belonged; if such an estate became the inheritance of a woman, it was apt to pass by her marriage into another family." Hadley, Introduction to Roman Law, p. 308.

bonis lateribus, *with sound lungs*. — **delectari**, *enjoy*.

§ 15. **etenim** (§ **43**, 3, *d*), here passes from the general to the particular. — **a rebus gerendis**, *from active life* (not necessarily, though usually, *war*). — **an**, *or is it* (§ **71**, 2, *b*). — **res seniles**, *offices of age*. — **administrentur**, § **65**, 2. — **tamen**, *notwithstanding* these infirmities. — **nihil agebat**, *was he idle?* — **Paulus** (see note, § 3): his daughter married Marcus, son of Cato, a young man of great promise, who died B.C. 152, as prætor elect. — **Fabricii** etc.: these were statesmen of the war with Pyrrhus, all plebeians and men equally distinguished for ability and integrity. C. Fabricius Luscinus was ambassador to Pyrrhus; M'. Curius Dentatus defeated the Samnites, B.C. 290, and Pyrrhus at Beneventum, B.C. 275; Ti. Coruncanius was the first plebeian *pontifex maximus*. — **cum . . . defendebant**, § **62**, 2, N.

§ 16. **Claudi**: Appius Claudius, known as Cæcus (*the blind*) or the Censor, one of the few men of real genius among the statesmen of the old Republic. In his censorship (B.C. 311) he attempted some democratic innovations (which were set aside by his successor, Q. Fabius Maximus, ancestor of the *Cunctator*) and built the first military road, the *Appia Via*; he also was the first to bring a supply of fresh water into the city by the *Aqua Appia*. The incident here related of him, that when blind and old he had himself brought into the Senate in order to oppose negotiations with Pyrrhus, and to insist that there should be no negotiations with a foreign enemy on the soil of Italy, is the most illustrious in his life. The speech in which he enforced this policy was extant in the time of Cicero, and passed as the earliest specimen of Roman prose literature. — **accedebat**, i. e. to the infirmity of age was added the accident that (**ut**) he was blind (§ **70**, 4, *a*). — **persecutus est**, *has given in full*. — **consulatum**: his two consulships were B.C. 307 and 96. It was very unusual for any but a consular man to be made censor. — **grandem**, *advanced in years*.

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§ 17. **at vero**, *yet in reality.* — **consilio**, *advice;* **auctoritate**, *influence;* **sententia**, *official opinion* (in the Senate). — **quibus**, with **orbari** as abl. of *separation;* with **augeri** as abl. of *specification.*

§ 18. **nisi forte** (as **nisi vero**), always ironical — **miles**, etc., the regular grades of military service. The *legatus* was often a man of consular rank. — **præscribo**, i. e. in virtue of his personal influence. — **Karthagini**. This was hardly a ground for boasting. With his characteristic narrowness of spirit and selfish patriotism, Cato could not bear to see the brilliant commercial prosperity which Carthage continued to enjoy, even after being humbled in the second Punic War. He determined that it should be not only humbled, but destroyed, and for several years ended every speech with the words: *Ita censeo, et Karthaginem esse delendam.* — **cogitanti** (§ **72**, 1, *a*), *which has long been plotting mischief.*

§ 19. **avi reliquias**, "what your grandfather left unfinished." — **sextus et tricesimus**; this would give us B.C. 185: the death of the elder Africanus is, however, usually given as 183, the same year with that of Hannibal and Philopœmen. — **ante me censorem**: Cato's censorship was B.C. 184, his consulship 195; the interval here given, *novem annis*, expresses the number of full years intervening. Scipio's second consulship was B.C. 194.

8. pæniteret (§ **59**, 3, *b*), i. e. and were living now.—**nec enim**, *for he would not, you see,* etc. (**num** in the question implying a negative answer. Notice the connectives: three divisions with **nec**, one having a subordinate with **aut**; then three without connectives). — **consilio**: the primary function of the Senate was advisory. — **senatum**, in its primary sense as a *body of elders.*

§ 20. **quidem**, *in fact.* The Spartan Senate (γερουσία) consisted of twenty-eight men over sixty, and the two Kings. The small number enables Cicero to call this a *magistratus*, which term he could not apply to the Roman Senate. — **externa**, i. e. foreign history. — **cedo**, *come;* **qui**, *how?* — **Nævi**: Cn. Nævius, the earliest native Roman poet, flourished in the time of the second Punic War. He wrote comedies and tragedies, and an epic poem upon the first Punic War. He was distinguished for bold and original satire.— **proveniebant** (an agricultural word), i. e. a crop of them were springing up. — **videlicet** = *and naturally, for,* etc.

§ 21. **at memoria** (objection): i. e. memory is lost, which is needed for active business.— **nisi exerceas**, gen. cond (§ **59**, 5, *a*). — **tardior**, *rather dull.* — **qui Aristides esset** (§ **66**, 3) = the acc. **Aristidem**, which would be ambiguous: *that he ever saluted Aristides as Lysimachus.* — **equidem**, *for my part.* — **sepulcra legens**: Cato was writing his history, the *Origines.* — **quod aiunt**, *as they say;*

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this expression points to a proverb. The same whim has prevailed in modern times. — **quemquam**, emphatic : *I never heard of any man who in his old age*, etc. — **vadimonia constituta**, *recognizances given*, hence acting as bail, a very common occurrence with men of property, for in all personal actions the defendant gave bail to appear.

§ 22. **quid**, sc. **faciunt**. — **juris consulti**: these were persons who made jurisprudence a study, and whose formally expressed opinions (*responsa*) had much the same weight that judicial decisions have at the present day (see Maine's Ancient Law, Ch. II. p. 42).

They (JURISCONSULTI) were consulted by private persons to ascertain and secure their rights, by advocates, jurors (*judices*), and even by the *prætors*, who, though their duties were judicial, were themselves rarely lawyers, but politicians in the regular career of office. Until the Empire, their decisions had no binding force, but only a moral influence. Augustus gave to some jurists the *jus respondendi*, the right to interpret the law with binding force. See Hadley, Int. to Roman Law, pp. 61 and 65.

By the side of the jurists who had authority in questions of civil law, are mentioned the *pontifices* and augurs, who had the superintendence of what we may call ecclesiastical law (for the *jus augurium*, see Note on § 12). The *jus pontificium*, exercised by the college of *pontifices*, had authority in the entire field of religious institutions, except so far as foreign rites were under the superintendence of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who had charge of the Sibylline books. The Pontifex Maximus was therefore the head of the ecclesiastical institutions of Rome; this office was conferred upon Augustus, as a regular part of the Emperor's functions, who by this act became head of Church as well as of State. This combination of supreme civil and ecclesiastical powers continued until the Christian emperors.

senes, *in their old age*. — **manent** (emphatic), *continue*. — **ingenia**, *powers of mind*, including memory and others necessary to active life. — **permaneat**, § **57**, 3, *c*. — **neque ea solum**, *and that, not only*, etc. — **quod**, agreeing with **studium** (§ **76**, 3, *a*.)

7. **rem familiarem**, *property*. — **ut . . . removeret**, purpose of **vocatus est**. — **nostro more**, i. e. by the laws of the Twelve Tables. — **patribus**, dat. after **interdici**, which is used impersonally (§ **51**, 2, *f*). — **bonis** (§ **54**, 1), abl. of separation: i. e. from the control of their property. — **desipientem**, *growing foolish*. — **fabulam**, *play*. — **in manibus**, i. e. not yet publicly exhibited. — **proxima**, *last*, and so a proof that he had not lost his powers. This play contains the celebrated chorus in praise of the moral beauty of the neighborhood of Athens. Nothing could have better won the good opinion of his judges.

§ 23. **num**: i. e. do you suppose that, etc. — **studiorum agitatio**, *the pursuit of letters*.

§ 24. **age, ut omittamus** (§ **64**, 1, *b*), *but come: to pass over*, etc. — **divina**, i. e. poetry and philosophy, which tend to preserve the powers. — **possum nominare** (§ **60**, 2, *c*), *I could name*. — **ex agro Sabino**, in the central mountain region of Italy, where Cato had an estate. — **rusticos**, *plain farmers*. — **numquam fere**, *hardly*

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ever. — **serendis**, etc., § **73**, 3, *d.* — **fructibus**, *crops.* — **condendis**, i. e. curing and storing. — **quamquam** (corrective), *and yet.* — **idem** (pl.), *they also.* — **nihil . . . pertinere**, *to have no concern for them.* — **sĕrĭt ārbŏrēs**, etc., Cretic tetram. (§ **82**, 6). — **sæclo**, *generation :* old men, therefore, do engage in active labors. — **Statius**: Cæcilius Statius, a freedman of Insubrian birth, who, like his contemporary Plautus, translated and worked over the comedies of Menander and other Greek writers. None of his plays are extant. Died, B C. 168.

§ 25. **nec vero**, *and in fact the farmer never hesitates.* — **melius**, i. e. in the preceding. — **illud idem**, *the same poet says in that which follows.* — **videt**, *one sees.*

10. **illud vero**, etc., *and this still worse.*

§ 26. **delectantur**, *find pleasure in.* — **levior**, *less burdensome.* — **gaudent**, *enjoy* (§ **54**, 10, *a*). — **languida**, *feeble;* **iners**, *helpless;* **operosa**, *laborious.* — **scilicet**, *that is to say.* — **quid**, *how is it with*, etc. — **addiscunt**, *learn something new.* — **senem fieri**, *grows old.* — **ego**, *I too* (opposed to Solon). — **litteras Græcas**, *Greek.* — **quos quidem adripui**, *and I have seized them too.* — **quasi**, *as it were.* — **ea ipsa**, *these very stories.* — **vellem equidem** (§ **60**, 2, *b*, § **57**, 4, *c*), *I should have liked* (emph.) *to do that too; but in letters, at any rate, I have accomplished something.* — **fidibus** (abl. inst.), sc. **canere**.

§ 27. **desidero**, *feel the want of.* — **alter**, see § 15. — **vox**, *language.* — **contemptior**, *more despicable.* — **Milonis**: Milo of Crotona, a Greek city of Magna Græcia, a famous athlete. It is of him that the story is told that, by lifting a calf every day, he was able to lift it when it became an ox. — **jam . . . esset**, *was now getting old.* — **at**: i. e. I still live, but, etc. — **Ælius**: Sex. Ælius Pætus, named *Catus* from his acuteness, the most distinguished jurist of his time: *juris civilis omnium peritissimus* (Cic. Brut. 78), cos. B.C. 198. The Ælian gens was distinguished for the number of jurists it produced. For Ti. Coruncanius, see note, § 15. P. Licinius Crassus, also an eminent jurist, *pontifex maximus;* cos. B.C. 205. — **jura civibus præscribebantur**, *the rights of their fellow-citizens were settled*, i. e. in their official opinion.

11. § 28. **orator**, emphatic: *as to the orator*, etc. — **est** (emph.), *for his task is indeed*, etc. — **omnino**, *to be sure.* — **canorum**, *resonance.* — **nescio quo pacto** (§ **67**, 2, *e*), *somehow.* — **quod equidem**, etc., *and in fact I have not lost it yet.* — **decorus**, *becoming.* — **sermo**, *style.* — **remissus**, *unexcited.* — **composita**, *smooth;* **mitis**, *gentle.* — **si . . . nequeas**, gen. cond. (§ **59**, 5, *a*). — **Scipioni**, etc.; i. e. young men like them.

§ 29. **omne . . . munus**, *the performance of every duty.* — **quo quidem opere**, *and than this task.* — **mihi vero videbantur**, *for my part I used to think.* — **Cn. et P. Scipiones**; two brothers who held command in the early years of the second Punic War, and who

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fell in battle in Spain within a month of each other, B.C. 212. From them respectively were descended the two branches of the Scipio family. Publius was father of the elder Africanus; Cneius of Nasica, pronounced *optimus Romanorum* (§ 45), from whom were descended several generations with the same *agnomen*, all more or less famous. — **Æmilius**: L. Æmilius Paulus, cos. B.C. 216, killed in the battle of Cannæ, father of the victor of Pydna (see note, § 3), and grandfather of the younger Africanus. — **bonarum artium**, *liberal arts*. — **quamvis**, § **61**, 2. — **etsi**, *though indeed*.

§ 30. **quidem**, *for instance*. — **ego**, opposed to Xenophon. — **Metellum**: L. Cæcilius Metellus, cos. B.C. 231 and 247, and *pontifex maximus*, grandfather of the well-known Metellus Macedonicus. — **puer**, *when I was a boy*. — **esse**, § **58**, 11, *b*. — **extremo**: at his first consulship he must have been at least forty-three. — **mihi**: the dat. for the acc. here emphasizes the person. — **quidem**, *to be sure*. — **senile**, *the way with old men*.

§ 31. **videtisne**, *don't you see?* — **prædicet**, *talks at large*. Nestor is ingeniously introduced as an excuse for garrulity and an honorable example of age, as Ajax is of brute strength and the vigor of youth.

12. **si . . . acciderit**, intermediate clause, § **66**, 1.

§ 32. **vellem equidem**, *I could wish to be sure*. — **queo**: this verb is used in later Latin only with a negative. — **non quidem . . . sed tamen** (below), equivalent to *though not endowed*, etc. — **Glabrione**: M'. Acilius Glabrio, probably ancestor of a family of some distinction in Cicero's time; as consul, B.C. 191, he defeated Antiochus the Great, at Thermopylæ. — **enervavit**, *unstrung*; **adflixit**, *broken down*. — **hospites**, *friends from abroad* (see "Orations," Rosc. Am. § 5, note). — **nec enim**, *for* (let me tell you) *I never*, etc. — **laudato**, *much praised*. — **fieri** (§ **70**, 3, *a*): Cato takes the proverb to mean, "lead the quiet life of an old man;" it probably really means, "avoid the follies of youth." — **itaque**, etc., *and so, thus far no one has sought to meet me, to whom I was "engaged."* — **fuerim**, subj. of charact.

§ 33. **ne vos quidem**, *nor have you either*. — **modo** (§ **57**, 3, *c*), *provided*. — **ne**, *assuredly*. — **tenebitur**, *held back*. — **Milo**, see § 27. — **Pythagoræ**, opposed to Milo, as head of the school in which he was a disciple. Once, it is said, while Pythagoras was discoursing, the roof gave way, and would have fallen but for the single strength of Milo. — **utrum . . . an**, § **71**, 2. — **cum absit**, § **60**, 1, *a*. — **cursus**, *succession*. — **simplex**, *unvarying*. — **sua tempestivitas**, *to each period of life its own fitness to the time*. — **ferocitas**, *fierce energy*. — **constantis**, *well settled*.

13. § 34. **Masinissa**, king of Numidia, a valuable ally to Scipio in the war with Hannibal; grandfather of Jugurtha. — **autem**, *on*

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the other hand.—**siccitatem** = *toughness;* lit. freedom from humors, the supposed source of disease. — **officia**, *required duties;* **munera**, *functions:* privileges as well as duties. — **potest** (emphatic position), *can*, though often they do not. — **ne sint**, § **57**, 3, *c*. — **postulantur a**, *required of* (not *by*). — **quod**, adv. acc. (§ **52**, 3, *a*).

§ 35. **imbecilli**, *helpless*. — **omnino**, *at all*. — **quidem**, *at any rate.*— **vitium**, *defect* (connected with both **senectutis** and **valetudinis**). — **paternam**, *his father's*. — **resistendum** (§ **73**, I, R.), *we must make a stand* (old age being so far a matter of bodily health).

§ 36. **habenda ratio**, *regard must be had* (lit. *account must be taken of it*, a business term). — **utendum**, § **72**, 5, *b*, R. — **subveniendum est**, *we must come to the relief.* — **quidem**, *it is true*. — **quos ait**, *those whom he speaks of as.*

14. **Cæcilius**, see note, § 24. — **comicos**, *of the comedy*, a stock character in Greek and Roman plays. — **hoc**, *by this*. — **petulantia**, *wantonness*. — **non proborum**, stronger than **improborum**. — **deliratio**, *dotage*. — **levium**, *frivolous*.

§ 37. **robustos**, *grown up*. — **languescens**, *though enfeebled*. — **auctoritatem**, *moral authority* (such as exists nowadays); **imperium**, *power of command*, or military authority, including power of life and death (implied in the *patria potestas*). — **metuebant servi** (emphatic position of the verb), *he was feared by his slaves, reverenced by his children, held dear by all.*

§ 38. **ita . . . si**, *only on condition that*. — **se ipsa defendit**, *is its own defence*. — **nemini mancipata**, *in no man's power*. — **ut enim**, etc., see § 32. — **sequitur**, *aims at*. — **conligo nunc cum maxime**, *just at this very time I am putting together*. — **conficio**: the speeches were carefully worked over afterwards by the orators for publication, as Cicero's were, — often quite different from the real ones, as in the case of Milo. — **adsum**, i. e. attend in the courts, etc., a regular duty of Roman citizens. — **ultro adfero**, i. e. not merely attend to the necessary business of the hour. Though no senator, strictly, could introduce a measure of his own motion, yet when called to vote, he could speak on any point whether "in order" or not, as did Cato (*delenda est Karthago*). — **tamen**, *even then*. — **sed ut possim**, etc. = *but I can, and that I can is the result of my past life*. — **viventi**, *while he lives*, depending grammatically on **obrepat**, but belonging also to **intellegitur**.— **intellegitur**, i. e. one does not notice. — **obrepat**, *creeps upon*.

15. § 39. **sequitur**, *next comes*. — **tertia**, see § 15. — **quod dicunt**, *because* as *they say*, etc. (notice the difference of the Latin idiom). — **ætatis**, *age*, standing here (as in English) for *old age;* rarely, as in § 45, it may mean *youth*. — **si quidem**, *if really:* nearly equivalent to *since*. — **orationem**, *discourse;* **tradita**, *reported*. — **Archytæ**: Archytas was a Pythagorean of Tarentum,

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of about the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Plato died in 348).—**voluptatem**, § **67**, 1, *b*, R.—**avidæ**, i. e. *in their eagerness for.*—**temere**, *heedlessly;* **ecfrenate**, *uncurbed.*—**incitarentur**, *are impelled* (for the tense, see § **58**, 10, *d*).

§ 40. **hinc = a corporis voluptate.**—**proditiones**, *acts of treason* (a common Latin use of the plural); **eversiones**, *overthrows.*—**nasci**, *spring.*—**denique**, *in a word.*—**scelus**, a more abstract term than **facinus**. In Cicero's time, **facinus** appears to have been mostly used in a bad sense; but not originally, and hence it is here qualified with **malum**.—**stupra vero**, *and as to debaucheries*, etc.—**excitari**, *stirred up.*—**muneri**, *function* (if given by nature); **dono**, *gift* (if bestowed by divine power).

§ 41. **nec enim**, etc., *for* (of course) *there is no room for self-control when lust is tyrant.*—**fingere animo**, *imagine.*—**jubebat, censebat**: observe the partial return to the direct narrative.—**percipi** (*reaped*) = *experienced.*—**nihil agitare**, *pursue no subject.*—**nihil . . . consequi**, *establish nothing by argument or reflection.*—**quocirca** resumes as a conclusion the first statement, **nullam esse**, etc., in the indirect form, whence the subjunctives **esset**, **exstingueret**.—**hæc**, etc., *thus my host Nearchus used to say* (*that*) *he had heard that Archytas discoursed with Pontius.* Pontius was the noble Samnite who gave the wise advice, that unless the Roman army at the Caudine Forks should be massacred to a man, it should be released without dishonorable conditions. The neglect of this counsel, with the infamous duplicity of the Romans, cost the life of that gallant state.—**cum quidem**, *at the very time when* (**interfuisset** is the subj. of indir. disc., not on account of **cum**).

16. **L. Camillo**, etc.: this was B.C. 349, the year before Plato's death. Plato's latest authentic visit to Sicily (his third) was 361; it is probable therefore that Cicero was wrong here.

§ 42. **quorsum hæc**, *what has this been driving at?* (§ **49**, 2, *c*).—**intellegeretis**, etc., imperf. as following the implied past tense.—**invitus feci ut eicerem** (§ **70**, 4, *e*) = *I reluctantly expelled.*—**T. Flaminini**, see § 1; his brother Lucius was consul B.C. 192. During his consulship he carried on war successfully in Cisalpine Gaul, at which time occurred the incident here related.—**fuisset**, subj. as following **eicerem**.—**septem annis**; this was the full number of years intervening between the consulship of L. Flamininus (B.C. 192) and the consulship of Cato and L. Flaccus (184); the censorship of T. Flamininus and M. Marcellus was B.C. 189. (The story is an illustration of the preceding sentence, but the old man's loquacity destroys the logical connection).—**notandam**; the technical word for the formal mark of disapprobation *nota censoria*, officially passed upon a man by the censors.—**exoratus est**, *was prevailed on*, compare Liv. xxxix, 43; Plutarch Flamin. 18.

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§ 43. **Cinea**: Cineas was a pupil of Demosthenes, whom Pyrrhus sent as ambassador to Rome after his first victory, over Lævinus (B.C. 280). Two years later was the Roman embassy of Fabricius and others to Pyrrhus, to whom Cineas returned the hospitality which he had experienced in Rome. — **quendam**, i. e. Epicurus, whom Cicero never loses an opportunity to attack, and to whom the Stoics were especially opposed (see "Orations," note to Sest. § 9). — **ut id persuaderetur** (§ **51**, 2, *c*, *f*), *that they might be persuaded of this*. — **Samnitibus**; the Samnites were a vigorous and powerful nation of Central Italy, the last and most persistent defenders of Italian independence against Rome. The third Samnite War ended, with their overthrow, B.C. 290. — **dedissent**, for fut. perf. of dir. disc. — **vixerat** (emphatic): he had lived with him, and so knew him better than to suppose him influenced by pleasure. — **Decio**: P. Decius Mus, consul for the fourth time, B.C. 295. In his consulship was fought, at Sentinum, the decisive battle against the great coalition of Italian nations, headed by the Samnites (third Samnite War). When Decius saw that the battle was going hard with his men, he devoted himself to the gods by a solemn act of consecration (see Livy, viii. 9), rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and perished. His death was followed by a complete victory, which broke up the alliance, although the war dragged on five years longer. The story went that the father of Decius had devoted himself in like manner in the Latin War, forty-two years before, B.C. 337. — **Curius**, the oldest of the three statesmen here mentioned (cos. B.C. 290), had had personal intercourse (*vixerat*) with Decius; while Fabricius and Coruncanius were only acquaintances (*norat*). — **profecto**, *without question*. — **aliquid natura**, etc., the fundamental moral doctrine of the Stoics.

17. § 44. **cruditate**, *indigestion*. — **si dandum est . . . potest**, see § **64**, 1, *b*. — **Duellium**, cos. B.C. 260, in which year he gained a naval victory over the Carthaginians. Knowing the superiority of the enemy in naval tactics, he undertook to balance this by a kind of boarding-bridge, which grappled the enemies' ships and held them fast, after which the battle became essentially a land fight, decided by the prowess of the soldiers rather than by naval manœuvres. This victory over the enemy on their own ground, in a branch of warfare in which the Romans were wholly inexperienced, naturally was of incalculable value in raising their spirits and confidence, and gained great reputation for their commander. A column, adorned with the beaks of ships, was erected on the Forum in his honor, of which fragments are still extant. — **sumpserat**: this honor appears to have been granted by authority, not assumed by himself, as the text would imply.

§ 45. **sodales**: the worship of the several gods was cared for by

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a guild, *sodalitas*, consisting of a number of guild-brethren, *sodales*. Whenever a new worship was introduced, a new guild was organized to take charge of it. The innovation in Cato's quæstorship, here spoken of, could not have been the establishment of the *sodalitas*, for this was an institution of great antiquity; it was probably the custom of public banquets of the brethren that came up at this time. By the expression *habui semper sodales* Cato probably means that he has kept up his membership and his attendance at the banquets. — **Magnæ Matris**, i. e. Rea or Cybele, a goddess of nature, worshipped with wild rites on Mt. Ida, and in other parts of Asia Minor.

The Romans found in the Sibylline Books, during the war with Hannibal, a prophecy that a foreign enemy would be expelled from Italy when the Idæan mother should come from Pessinus to Rome. An embassy was accordingly sent to King Attalus of Pergamus, who actually gave into their possession the meteoric stone which was the fetish of this worship. The oracle prescribed that it should be received by the man *qui vir optimus Romæ esset*, and the Senate fixed upon the young Publius Scipio Nasica, son of Cneius (see § 29). From this time the worship of the Great Mother was one of the most popular of the religions of Rome: it was celebrated in the *Megalesia*, April 4–10, with processions, beating of drums, and dramatic exhibitions.

omnino, *on the whole* (opposed to the exception following). — **ipsorum** emphasizes **conviviorum**, *as opposed to higher pleasures.* — **sermonibus**, *conversation.* — **compotatio**, συμπόσιον; **concenatio**, συνδεῖπνον.

§ 46. **tempestivis**, beginning earlier, and continuing later than the usual hour. — **qui pauci**, § **50**, 2, R³. — **modus**, *degree.* — **me**, i. e. for my part I like even formal drinking usages.

18. **magisteria**: the office of master or president of the feast (*magister*, *arbiter bibendi*), who regulated drinking and promoted hilarity. — **a majoribus**: it was, however, a Greek custom. — **more majorum**, i. e. with respect for age or rank. — **a summo**; the three tables of the *triclinium* formed three sides of a square, and were known as *summus*, *medius*, *imus*. Three guests, *summus*, *medius*, and *imus*, reclined at each table. The conversation began *a summo*, that is, at the extreme left, and was passed along from one to the other. The place of honor was the lowest at the middle table. — **Symposio**; the *Banquet*, one of Xenophon's works, in which Socrates is introduced. — **rorantia**, *drunk by sips.* — **ignis hibernus**, *the winter's fire.* — **in Sabinis**, *on my Sabine estate.*

§ 47. **quasi**, *so to speak.* — **ne . . . quidem**, *not . . . either.* — **adfecto ætate**, *stricken in years.* — **uteretur**, etc., *enjoyed sensual pleasures.* — **meliora**, sc. **duint**. — **vero**, *why.* — **istinc**, *from them* (from those you speak of). — **agresti**, *rough.* — **non caret**: "inest velle in carendo" (Tusc. i. 36).

§ 48. **Turpione**: Turpio Ambivius, a leading actor of the time of Cato; he played in Terence's pieces. — **delectatur**, *enjoys.* — **cavea**: the part of the theatre occupied by the spectators, consist-

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ing of concentric rows of seats rising one above the other, whence the name: **prima, ultima,** *front and back row* (§ 47, 8). — **propter,** *near at hand* (the original adverbial use of the preposition).

§ 49. **illa** = *the following;* **at,** opposed to the concession that age takes less delight. — **animum,** *the soul.* — **emeritis stipendiis,** i. e. *discharged from the service.* The required term of military service was sixteen years, after which the man, having served his campaigns ("earned his pay"), was exempt. — **si vero,** *if again.* — **tamquam,** *as it were.* — **otiosa,** *of retirement* (from public business). — **videbamus,** *we used to see.* — **Galum**: C. Sulpicius Gallus, cos. B.C. 166. He served as tribune of the soldiers under Æmilius Paulus (father of Scipio), B.C. 168, and foretold an eclipse of the moon on the night before the battle of Pydna. — **dimetiendi pæne,** *almost measuring out the universe.* — **illum . . . oppressit,** *he was overcome by,* etc. — **describere,** *draw.*

19. § 50. **quid,** *how is it?* — **levioribus,** *more trivial.* — **acutis,** *requiring a keen intellect.* — **quam gaudebat,** *what pleasure did he take.* — **Nævius,** "the first Roman who deserves to be called a poet, and, so far as the accounts preserved regarding him, and the few fragments of his works allow us to form an opinion, one of the most remarkable and most important names in the whole range of Roman literature" (Mommsen). He flourished in the last part of the third cent. B.C. He wrote comedies and tragedies, but his principal work was an epic, in Saturnian verse, on the history of the first Punic War, in which he himself had served. — **Plautus** lived shortly after Nævius, and translated (very freely) the comedies of Menander, Philemo, and others from the Greek. Twenty of these are extant (including both of those here mentioned), and form the earliest complete specimens of Roman literature now existing. — **vidi etiam** (emphatic), *I myself saw:* the earlier examples I had only heard of. — **Livium**: Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth (of Tarentum), was brought to Rome prisoner, and there (B.C. 240) exhibited the first plays, adapted from the Greek. These were wretched translations, so that it is only as helping to give an impulse that they can be reckoned as belonging to Roman literature. — **fabulam docuisset,** *brought out a play:* the regular word, from the author *teaching* the actors and chorus. — **Crassi,** see note, § 27. — **P. Scipionis**: not the young Scipio (Æmilianus) present, but his second cousin, P. Scipio Nasica Corculum, son of P. Nasica (see note, § 45). He received the name Corculum (from *cor*) from his intellectual eminence. — **his paucis diebus,** *a few days ago.* — **atqui,** *now;* **vero,** *then again.* — **Cethegum**; M. Cornelius Cethegus, cos. B.C. 204, is mentioned in Cicero's Brutus (§ 57) as the earliest Roman orator; *quem vero exstet, et de quo sit memoriæ proditum, eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est M.*

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Cornelius Cethegus. — **Ennius**, see note, § 1. — **videbamus**, *I used to see:* Cethegus died B.C. 196. — **quae . . . voluptates**, *what pleasures are there in feasts*, etc. — **pariter**, *in even pace.* — **honestum**, *honor to him.* — **illud**, *that famous saying.*

§ 51. **incredibiliter delector**, *I take a marvellous delight.* — **nec** (= **et non**) . . . **et**, regular correlatives in Latin (§ **43**, 2, *a*). — **proxime accedere**, *to come nearest.* — **habent rationem** (a mercantile phrase), *deal* (lit. *keep a debt-and-credit account*). — **recusat imperium**, *dishonors one's draft* (also mercantile). — **me quidem**, *for my part.* — **non fructus modo** (referring to the preceding **faenore**): i. e. that is not all, but the growth is as pleasant as the profit. — **quae . . . aristarum**, this whole passage is full of technical terms of husbandry: **subacto**, *subdued*, or *well tilled*; **occaecatum**, *hid*, and *imprisoned;* **occatio**, really from **occa**, *harrow:* the etymology is absurd; **vapore**, *moist heat;* **diffundit**, *swells it;* **viriditatem**, *green growth* (the blade); **herbescentem**, *sprouting;* **nixa**, *supported by* (§ **54**, 10, *a*); **geniculato**, *jointed;* **vaginis**, *sheaths*, covering the tender ear; **quasi pubescens**, *as if with the down of youth* (and so needing protection).

20. **fundit spici** (gen.) **frugem**, *yields the grain in the ear.* — **structam**, *arranged* (laid). — **vallo**, *rampart:* the beard of the grain is compared to the palisades of an entrenchment.

§ 52. **vitium**, *of vines* (as contrasted with standing grain). — **ortus**, etc., *growth, planting, propagation.* — **ut noscatis**, § **64**, 1, *b*. — **vim ipsam**, *the mere vital force* (power of growth) as opposed to cultivation. — **acini vinaceo**, *grape-stone.* — **malleoli**, shoots cut from the last year's growth, in such a way as to take also the adjoining wood projecting on each side in the shape of a hammer: *prominens utrimque, malleoli speciem praebet* (Col.); **plantae**, *suckers*, cut from the main stock; **sarmenta**, *scions*, cut from the ends of branches; **viviradices**, *quicksets*, taken with a bit of the root; **propagines**, *layers*, starting as a new plant while still connected underground with the parent stock, or pegged down to take root further on. — **nonne efficiunt**, etc., *are they not enough to fill any one* (however insensible) *with delight and wonder?* — **claviculis**, *tendrils.* — **quam serpentem**, *which as it twines.* — **multiplici**, *manifold* (in many ways at once); **erratico**, *straying* (in many ways successively). — **amputans**, *trimming.* — **silvescat sarmentis**, *become a forest of shoots.* The growth of "new wood" (*sarmenta*) in one season from a single bud has sometimes amounted to more than 100 feet, including ramifications.

§ 53. **exsistit**, *starts forth.* — **tamquam**, etc., *close to the joints* (*as it were*) *of the runners.* — **suco** (**succo**), *moisture.* — **laetius**, *more gladdening.* — **ante**, see § 51. — **capitum iugatio**, *connecting of the tops* of the stakes or props (*adminicula*), for the vines to run

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across; **religatio**, *tying up;* **propagatio**, *training*, or guiding forward of the young shoots; **immissio**, *sparing* to grow; or, perhaps, training of other shoots in the spaces left. — **repastinationes**, *trenching.*

§ 54. **dixi** (emphatic), *I have already told.* — **de rebus rusticis**: the title of the book is *De Re Rustica.* It is tolerably well preserved. — **doctus**, like the Greek σοφός, *skilled*, often used of poets. The reference is to Hesiod's "Works and Days." — **ne verbum quidem**: probably because the rich plains of Bœotia needed no manuring. — **Laërtam**, Laërtes, father of Ulysses (Od. xxiv. 225). The *desiderium* is for the long absence of his son at the siege of Troy, and during his subsequent wanderings. Homer does not represent him as *stercorantem*, but as digging, which in Cicero's mind might include the other.

21. **segetibus**, *grain-fields;* **pratis**, *meadows* (for grazing); **arbustis**, usually plantations of trees for the training of vines, as may be seen at the present day in Italy; here, perhaps, olive-groves and the like.— **hortis**, *kitchen gardens;* **pomariis**, *fruit-orchards.*— **consitiones, insitiones**; the plural is used to indicate the various modes of planting and grafting.

§ 55. **rerum rusticarum**, *rural life.* — **ea ipsa quæ**, *even what.* — **provectus**, *carried away.* — **ne . . . videar** (§ **64**, 1, *b*), of course said jocosely. — **eam**, observe the emphatic position. — **M'. Curius**, see note, § 43. — **villam**, *farm-house.* — **ego**, expressed because **cujus** is emphatic. — **disciplina**, assigning the merit to the training of those times.

§ 56. **dixit**, *as he said.* — **poteratne non**, *could it fail?* — **sed venio**: what was just said had no relation to farming. — **in agris, a villa**, emphatic position: *it was in the country that*, etc. — **Cincinnato**: Cincinnatus was dictator twice. The famous incident of his being called from the plough belongs to his first dictatorship, B.C. 458; the second (B.C. 439), *seditionis sedandæ causa*, was occasioned by the uneasiness of the patricians at the popularity and ambition of Spurius Mælius. The only offence of Mælius, so far as was proved, was that he lavished his wealth to relieve the poor in a time of famine. This brought him into suspicion of scheming to make himself king, and rumor had it that he had filled his house with arms, and held nightly meetings of conspirators. — **aranti**, (emphatic position), *it was while ploughing.* — **arcessebatur**, this tense expresses the practice in old times; **viatores**, from **via**, the broad country roads. — **se oblectabant**, *solaced themselves.* — **in gratiam redeamus**, *be reconciled with.*

22. **hortum** (emphatic), *and as to the garden.*— **conditiora**: fowling and hunting give a spice to these necessary and regular occupations. (Preserve the emphasis by using the passive: "*these are made more palatable by*," etc.). — **supervacaneis operis**, *by employments of our leisure.*

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§ 57. **specie**, *sightliness.* — **melius**, *better* (than in the country). — **refrigerari**, *refresh itself.*

§ 58. **habeant . . . relinquant**, observe the *chiastic* arrangement. — **clavam**, *single-stick;* **pilam**, *ball;* **talos**, a kind of dice marked only on four sides, or *huckle-bones*, tossed in the air and caught on the back of the hand, just as boys do now: five at a time were used; **tesseras**, *dice*, inscribed with numbers.— **id ipsum**, *and that too;* **utrum** (= **utrumque**) **lubebit**, *as* (*whichever*) *they like.*

§ 59. **Xenophontis libri**: three small treatises on husbandry, horsemanship, and hunting (with hounds).— **Œconomicus**: including husbandry, or the general management of an estate. — **regem**, *prince*, belonging to the royal family. — **Lysander**, a distinguished Spartan general, who defeated the Athenians at Ægospotami, B.C. 404. He used against Athens the aid and treasure of Cyrus. — **Sardis**, acc. plur. (lit *to him, to Sardis*).— **proceritates** = **proceras arbores**. — **derectos**, *laid off.* — **in quincuncem**; the rows so disposed that every combination of three trees forms the letter V. — **subactam**, *subdued* by skilful tillage. — **puram**, *clean* (of weeds or rubbish). — **adflarentur**, *wafted.*— **ejus a quo**, etc., *of the one who had planned and arranged it.*

23. **atqui ego**, *but I am the one that*, etc.—**istas**, *those you speak of.* — **nitorem corporis**, *his body shining with ointment.* — **virtuti tuæ** (emph), *your own merit.*

§ 60. **hac igitur** (emph.), *this fortune, then, old men can enjoy*, etc. —**studia**, *interest in.* — **Corvinum**: M. Valerius Corvinus, one of the leading men of Rome in the fourth century B.C.; distinguished in the first Samnite War. His *cognomen* was derived from the circumstance that, when he was engaged in single conflict with a Gaul, a raven perched on his helmet and attacked the Gaul with his beak and claws (Livy, vii. 26). — **quidem**, *for example.* — **perduxisse**, sc. **senectutem**. — **quantum spatium**, i. e. forty-five years (see note, § 2). — **autem**, *now.* — **apex**, *the crowning glory.*

§ 61. **Metello**, see note, § 30. — **Calatino**: a leader in the first Punic War, cos. B.C. 258 and 254. He was also dictator. — **primarium virum**, *the first of men.* — **Crassum**, see note, § 27. — **Lepidum**: M. Æmilius Lepidus, cons. B.C. 187 and 175; *pontifex maximus*, and six times appointed *princeps senatus*, the highest dignity in the State. At his death in 152 he charged his sons to bury him with no display and moderate expense: — *imaginum specie, non sumptibus nobilitari magnorum virorum funera solere* (Liv. Epit. xl.). —**Paulo**, the conqueror of Macedonia. —**Maximo**, Q. Fabius, see § 10. — **pluris sit**, *is worth more.*

§ 62. **mementote**, *you must bear in mind.* — **adulescentiæ**, i. e. of honorable youth, implied in **fundamentis**.

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24. **quæ se defenderet** (subj. of charact.), i. e. which has occasion to defend itself. — **cani**, *gray locks*.

§ 63. **salutari**, *to have men call on you* (as the Romans did early in the morning); **adpeti**, *grasp your hand;* **decedi**, *make way for you* (impersonal); **adsurgi**, *rise at your entrance;* **deduci**, *escort you* (down to the forum); **reduci**, *escort home;* **consuli**, *ask your advice.*— **quæ**, *things which.* — **ut quæque**, etc., *in proportion as their morals are good.*— **Athenis**, abl. of *place;* **ludis**, of *time.*— **honestissimum**, *most full of honor.* — **ludis**, sc. **Panathenæis**: the great Athenian festival, commemorating the union of the demes of Attica into one city. It was held once in four years in the month *Hecatombæon* (July), and comprised all features of Grecian festivals.

§ 64. **multiplex**, i. e. in many ways. — **nostro collegio**, i. e. of augurs. — **sententiæ principatum**, *precedence in giving his opinion.* In the Senate the order was, first acting magistrates, then ex-magistrates (*honore antecedentibus*); but in this college age had precedence. — **cum imperio sunt**, *are invested with the imperium*, or supreme power; that is, hold an office of the highest grade, consul or prætor. — **fabulam peregisse**, *to have acted out the play.* — **conruisse**, *broken down.*

§ 65. **morum vitia**, *defects of character.* — **non quidem**, *not, it is true.* — **probari**, *appear plausible.* — **offensio**, *vexation* (*contretemps*).

25. **inludi**, i. e. treated with mock respect. — **Adelphis**: "The Brothers," one of the plays of Terence, still extant. It was represented for the first time at the funeral of L. Æmilius Paulus (father of Scipio), B.C. 160. — **diritas** (**duritas**), *harshness;* **comitas**, *gentleness.* — **quid sibi velit**, *what it means.*

§ 66. **sollicitam habere**, *keep it anxious.* — **certe**, *at all events.* — **non viderit**, *has not seen* (for himself). — **neglegenda**, *made nothing of.* — **aliquo**, *into some place.* — **atqui tertium certe**: this cheerful view of a future state was the common ground of ancient philosophy. It is stated with strong emphasis and conviction in Plato's "Apology of Socrates" (see Tusc. i. 41).

§ 67. **quid timeam**, § **57**, 6. — **exploratum**, *made clear.* — **tristius curantur**, i. e. their treatment costs more pain. — **viveretur**, *mankind would live.* — **qui si**, etc., *and if there had been none.* — **quod . . . crimen**, *what sort of a charge is that?*

§ 68. **optimo filio**, see Introduction. — **fratribus**, two younger sons of Æmilius Paulus, who died, the one aged 12, five days before his father's triumph over Perseus, the other aged 15, eight days afterwards. As his two elder sons had been adopted into the Fabian and Cornelian *gentes*, he left no representatives of his family.

26. § 69. **quamquam**, *and yet.* — **da . . . tempus**, *grant the very greatest age.* — **Tartessiorum**: Tartessus, a town in the south

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of Spain, of Phœnician origin. It was at the height of its prosperity under King Arganthonius, about B.C. 550. Afterwards Gades, *Cadiz*, became the chief town of this region, for which reason Cicero mentions it here as if it were identical with Tartessus.

§ 70. **ut placeat**, *to give pleasure.*—**modo probetur**, § 57, 3, *c.* —**plaudite**, the last word of the play, calling upon the spectators to applaud. — **significat**, *typify.*

§ 71. **ante partorum bonorum**, *of previously acquired blessings* (in philosophical sense).—**secundum naturam**, *following nature:* the Stoic maxim.

27. **quoad possis**, general condition. — **animosior**, *more courageous.* — **qua tandem re**, *on what thing, pray.* — **coagmentavit**, *compacted.*

§ 73. **Solonis**: Solon was one of "the seven wise men of Greece." — **vacare**, *be without.* — **consequatur**, subj. of indir. disc. following **esse**.

§ 74. **sensus moriendi**, *sensation in dying.* — **in exiguum tempus**, *only for a moment.* — **meditatum**, *dwelt upon*, lit. *practised.*

28. **incertum an**, *we know not but.*—**animo consistere**, *have any firmness of mind.*

§ 75. **Brutum**: L. Junius Brutus, the leader in the revolution which expelled the Tarquins from Rome, B.C. 509. — **Decios**, see note, § 43. — **Atilium**: M. Atilius Regulus, a commander in the first Punic War. The story goes that, being captured by the enemy, he was sent to Rome to treat for an exchange of prisoners, under a promise to return; that he advised his countrymen, however, against the exchange, and returned to Carthage and died there: it was believed that he was put to death with horrible tortures. This story of the embassy has been generally held doubtful since the time of Niebuhr. — **Scipiones**, see note, § 29. — **Paulum**, see § 29: his colleague Varro, whose mismanagement brought on the disaster of Cannæ, escaped alive, while Paulus perished. — **Marcellum**: M. Claudius Marcellus, a leading commander in the second Punic War; killed in an ambuscade, in his fifth consulship, B.C. 208. His chief exploit was the capture of Syracuse, B.C. 212.— **alacri . . . erecto**, *with high and eager courage.* — **indocti**, *untrained* (in philosophy).

§ 76. **omnino**, *on the whole* (*to sum up all*). — **studia certa**, *appointed tasks.* — **constans . . . media**, *well-settled period of middle life, so called.* — **occidunt**, *fall away.* — **maturum**, *seasonable.*

§ 77. **cur, quid**, each interrogative introducing an indirect question. — **quo . . . propius absum**, *the nearer I am to it.* — **Læli**: the father of Lælius was a very intimate friend of Cato. — **eam vitam [vivere]**, *to live that kind of life.*— **compagibus**, *pent-house.*

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—**munere . . . perfungimur**, *we are fulfilling (as it were) a task of necessity and a burdensome work.*

29. **ratio ac disputatio**, *theory and argument.*

§ 78. **incolas**: because the chief seat of the Pythagoreans was Crotona, in Magna Græcia (Southern Italy).—**quin . . . haberemus** (§ **58**, 10, *d*), *that we have souls drawn* (as drops from a fountain) *from the universal divine intelligence.*—**Socrates**: in Plato's celebrated dialogue "Phædo."—**sapientissimus**:

> "Whom, well inspired, the oracle pronounced
> Wisest of men."—*Paradise Regained.*

See the account in the "Apology."—**prudentia**, *foresight.*—**semper agitetur**, *is always in motion.* That which follows is a brief statement of the Platonic argument.—**scire pleraque**, etc.: the existence of innate ideas is an essential part of this argument.—**reminisci**, *call to mind;* **recordari**, *dwell upon in thought.*

§ 79. **Cyrus**, in the *Cyropædia*, viii. 7, (17–22): the expression is somewhat changed in passing through the lips of Cato, but the general thought is the same.

30. § 80. **nec vero**, etc., the honors paid the dead prove that their souls still live.—**emori**, *perish.*—**insipientem**, *incapable of sense.*—**atque etiam**, *and again.*—**natura**, *constitution.*—**jam vero**, *and finally.*

§ 81. **atqui**, *now.*—**remissi**, *unhampered* (cf. § 37, *intentum tamquam arcum*).—**colitote ut deum**: the second form (fut. imp.), because the command is to be performed in future. The expression in Xenophon is, "If these things are as I think, and the soul forsakes (survives) the body, do what I ask in reverence of my soul."—**hanc** (with a gesture), *this glorious universe.*

§ 82. **nos**, *we on our part.*—**patrem aut patruum**, Publius and Cneius Scipio (see note, § 29).—**nisi cernerent**, *without seeing.*—**excessisset**, for fut. perf. indic., attracted to subj. by **esset**.—**suscepturum fuisse**, *would have undertaken*, (§ **67**, 1, *c*).—**nescio quomodo**, *somehow or other.*

31. **immortalitatis gloriam** = *deathless glory.*

§ 83. **equidem**, *for my own part.*—**efferor**, *I am carried away.*—**aveo**, *I am eager.*—**retraxerit**, fut. perf. for fut. (§ **58**, 7, R.).—**conscripsi**, in the *Origines.*—**Peliam**: Pelias, son of Poseidon, and usurping king of Iolcos. It was he who sent his nephew Jason, the rightful king, for the Golden Fleece. When the enchantress Medea returned with Jason to Iolcos, she persuaded the daughters of Pelias to cut up their father and boil him in a cauldron in order to make him young again, having first done the same herself with Æson the father of Jason. She took pains, however, that the enchantment should fail with them, and thus avenged her husband upon his enemy.—**spatio**, see note, § 14.—**calce**, *the goal*, anciently marked with chalk or lime.

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§ 84. **non lubet**, *I've no inclination.*—**multi et ii docti**, *many men, and learned men too.*—**pœnitet**, *regret.*—**devorsorium**, *an inn* (for *turning aside* from the highway).

§ 85. **habeat**, sc. **commodi.**—**sane**, *if you will.*—**tamen**, *after all.*—**conluvione**, *confused medley* (*muddle*).—**Catonem meum**, his son (see Introd.).—**quod contra**, *whereas on the contrary* (contrary to which).—**decuit** (sc. **cremari**), § **58**, II, *a*.—**respectans**, *looking back upon me.*—**profecto**, *doubtless.*

32. **non quo**, § **66**, I, *d*, R.—**æquus**, *untroubled.*—**digressum**, *walking in different paths;* **discessum**, *separation* from one another.

§ 86. **his**, notice the emphasis.—**qui . . . credam**, i. e. *in thinking* (§ **65**, 2, *e*).—**libenter erro**, *I am glad to err.*—**minuti**, *petty.*—**peractio**, *the closing act* (see § 5): the word occurs nowhere else.—**defetigationem**, *utter weariness.*

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